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C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 17191

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJ: DC NATIONAL COUNCIL OPENS WITH ZACCAGNINI POLICY SPEECH

SUMMARY: IN OPENING SPEECH TO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL COUNCIL NOVEMBER 23, PARTY SECRETARY ZACCAGNINI PRESENTED RECOMMENDATIONS ON PARTY POLICY AND PROGRAM IN LINE WITH THOSE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED BY HIS SUPPORTERS ON CENTER-LEFT OF PARTY. SPEECH WAS MODERATE IN TONE AND, AS INDUSTRY MINISTER DONAT-CATTIN QUIPPED, SHOWED INFLUENCE OF "PIOUS HAND" (MORO) SEEKING TO AVOID SPLITS WITHIN PARTY. FACT THE ZACCAGNINI TERMED HIS SPEECH A "CONTRIBUTION TO DEBATE" LEADING TO CONGRESS AND THEREFORE NOT REQUIRING A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE REDUCED CHANCES OF IMMEDIATE CENTER-RIGHT COUP AGAINST HIM. FURTHER EFFORT TO REDUCE TENSION WITHIN PARTY WAS DECISION TO PUT OFF ELECTION OF SUCCESSOR TO ZACCAGNINI AS PRESIDENT OF DC NATIONAL COUNCIL. COUNCIL CONTINUES THIS EVENING, WITH REPORT OF PARTY ORGANIZATION CHIEF EXPECTED. END SUMMARY.

1. IN LENGTHY SPEECH TO DC NATIONAL COUNCIL NOVEMBER 23, PARTY SECRETARY ZACCAGNINI PRESENTED HIS VIEWS ON PARTY POLICY AND PROGRAM. SPEECH WAS MODERATE IN TONE AND, ACCORDING TO REPORTS, HAD HAD POLEMICAL ROUGH EDGES TRIMMED BY PREMIER MORO TO AVOID CONFRONTA-
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TION WITH PARTY CENTER-RIGHT CRITICS.

2. ZACCAGNINI OPENED HIS ADDRESS WITH CHARACTERIZATION OF DC CRISIS AS CAUSED BY APPROPRIATION BY OTHER PARTIES, ESPECIALLY THE PCI, OF MANY OF THE TRADITIONAL DC VALUES INCLUDING ITS DEDICATION TO PLURALISM, POPULISM AND THE UNITY OF THE RURAL AND URBAN MASSES WITH THE MIDDLE CLASS. "WE HAVE BEEN ATTACKED WITH OUR OWN VALUES AND OUR OWN IDEAS." THEREFORE, DC MUST HEED THE CALLS FOR RENEWAL COMING FROM WITHIN THE PARTY AND FROM COLLATERAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE POINTS OF REFERENCE FOR THIS RENEWAL MUST COME FROM A SERIES OF IDEALS BASED ON CHRISTIAN VALUES AND A SENSE OF MODERN REALITIES. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, DC MUST BE A LAY PARTY REJECTING REGID IDEOLOGIES AND OPEN TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF PROGRESS.

3. ZACCAGNINI STRONGLY REAFFIRMED DC'S ANTI-FASCISM. HE CONDEMNED VIOLENCE OF ANY POLITICAL COLORATION, BUT MADE DISTINCTION BETWEEN (FASCIST) VIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE RESULTING FROM SOCIAL UNREST.

4. HE CAME DOWN HARD AGAINST IDEA PUSHED, HE SAID, BY SOME ON LEFT, RADICAL-BOURGEOIS PRESS, AND RIGHTISTS, THAT ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE IS EVOLVING TOWARD TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AND THAT PROPER DC FUNCTION IS THAT OF MODERATE POLE WITHIN SYSTEM. THIS CONCEPT MUST BE REJECTED BY DC CONGRESS AS IT WOULD SIGNAL END OF DC AS POPULAR MOVEMENT.

5. ZACCAGNINI URGED THAT DC PRESENT CONCRETE PROGRAM INCLUDING ECONOMIC POLICY, PROPOSALS FOR INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND FOREIGN POLICY IN ORDER TO PROCEED TO DIALOGUE WITH OTHER PARTIES. IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, HE CONSIDERED PARTICULARLY "SIGNIFICANT" RECENT INITIATIVE OF MORO-LA MALFA GOVERNMENT IN PRESENTING MEDIUM-TERM ECONOMIC PROGRAM. HE URGED THAT DC MAKE CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON THE PROBLEMS OF EMPLOYMENT, INVESTMENTS, MEASURES TO COMBAT TAX EVASION, AND, IN GENERAL, NEED TO INCREASE EFFOCIENCY OF SOCIAL AND PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM.

6. HE REITERATED NEED TO RESOLVE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS
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IN THE FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE APPARATUS TO IMPROVE THEIR EFFICIENCY AND INCREASE THEIR RESPONSIVENESS TO NEEDS OF THE POPULATION. HE ALSO CALLED FOR GRANTING GREATER AUTONOMY TO LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND FOR THE REFORM OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. THE DC, HE SAID, MUST BECOME A "PARTY OF SERVICE MORE THAT OF POWER."

7. TURING TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ZACCAGINI REAFFIRMED HIS

STRONG SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND FOR WESTERN SOLIDARITY. "WE KNOW," HE ADDED, "HOW MUCH EUROPE OWES HISTORICALLY TO AMERICA" FOR A VITAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS BECOME ONE OF INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, WESTERN SOLIDARITY CANNOT BE BASED "ONLY ON RELATIONSHIPS OF POWER OR SIMPLE AGREEMENT OF INTERESTS, WHICH CAN VARY WITH EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE." RATHER, IT MUST PRINCIPALLY BE BASED "ON A SHARED ADHERENCE TO A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL MORALITY IN POLITICAL INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS."

8. ZACCAGNINI CALLED FOR AN EFFORT TO REESTABLISH A "SERIOUS COLLABORATION" WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI). HOWEVER, HE WARNED THAT IN THE LIGHT OF PSI ACTIONS SINCE THE JUNE 15 ELECTIONS THIS WOULD NO LONGER BE POSSIBLE IN TERMS OF "AN ABSTRACT ACCORD ON A FORMULA FOR GOVERNMENT" (I.E., THE "CENTER-LEFT"). RATHER IT MUST BE SOUGHT VIA AN AGREEMENT ON A "CONCRETE PROGRAM" AND CARRIED OUT BY "EXPLICIT CONVERGENCE" OF THE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY PARTIES. IN ADDITION, THIS PROGRAM MUST ALSO BE "RESON-SIVE" TO THE "EXPECTATIONS OF THE SOCIAL, LABOR AND ECONOMIC FORCES EXISTING IN THE NATION."

9. ZACCAGNINI CHIDED THE SOCIALISTS FOR INCON-SISTENCE IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD PCI RELATIONS WITH THE MAJORITY, ON THE ONE HAND, HE SAID, THE PSI HAS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT IT COULD NOT ACCEPT A PCI-PSI GOVERNMENT MAJORITY AS LONG AS THE PCI HAS NOT RESOLVED PROBLEMS REGARDING ITS RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. ON THE OTHER, THEY HAVE PRESSED THE DC TO ACCEPT SOME SORT OF DIRECT OR INDIRECT PCI PARTICI-PATION IN A GOVERNING MAJORITY INCLUDING THE DC. WHY, HE SAID, SHOULD THE DC BE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT THIS

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PROBLEM THAT THE SOCIALISTS?

10. ZACCAGNINI REAFFIRMED THE MORO THEORY OF "CONFRONTO" (COMPETITIVE DIALOGUE) WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY. HOWEVER, HE EXPLICITLY REJECTED THE "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" IN TERMS OF DC COLLABORATION OR "CO-RESPONSIBILITY" WITH THE PCI. THAT MEANS, HE SAID, THAT THE DC AND PCI MUST KEEP THEIR SEPARATE ROLE AND WHERE THE DC IS IN GOVERNMENT, THE PCI MUST BE IN OPPOSITION AND VICE CERSA. HOWEVER, HE ANNOYED THE PARTY CENTER-RIGHT MAJORITY BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE DC AND PCI ARE "PROFOUNDLY DISTINCT" IN IDEALS AND POLICIES RATHER THAN USING TERM "OPPOSED" APPROVED BY LAST (1973) DC PARTY CONGRESS.

11. ZACCAGNINI SAW PCI'S "UMBILICAL CORD" TO LENINISM

AND ITS FAILURE TO PROVE THAT ITS CURRENT POLICIES ARE NOT "TACTICAL-EMPIRICAL" IN NATURE AS PRINCIPAL OBSTACLES TO DIFFERENT ROLE FOR COMMUNISTS IN ITALY. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT POINTS OF "CONVERGENCE" WITH PCI MAY BE REACHED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE "CONFRONTO" TACTICS HE ADVOCATES. THESE CONVERGENCES MAY MOST APPROPRIATELY TAKE PLACE IN "LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY" CONNECTED WITH IMPLEMENTING THE CONSTITUTION (E.G., REGIONALISM) AND "ABOVE ALL" IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIELD.

12. THIS LAST ASSERTION OF ZACCAGNINI FURNISHED THE MOST AMMUNITION TO HIS CRITICS. IT ALSO RAISES REASONABLE DOUBTS IN OUR MINDS ABOUT WHETHER SUCH A "CONFRONTO" WITH THE PCI IN PARLIAMENT MIGHT NOT TAKE THE PCI EVEN FURTHER TOWARD INDIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNING MAJORITY.

13. REACTION TO ZACCAGNINI'S SPEECH WITHIN THE PARTY WAS GENERALLY EITHER FAVORABLE (LEFT AND SOME CENTER ELEMENTS) OR RESERVED (MOST OF CENTER AND RIGHT). HOWEVER, FORLANI GAVE AN UNEXPECTEDLY WARM ENDORSEMENT TO THE SPEECH, TERMING IT "GOOD" AND A "BASIS FOR UNITARY CONVERGENCE." SEVERAL TOP CENTER-RIGHT LEADERS, INCLUDING FANFANI AND PICCOLI, REFUSED TO COMMENT.

14. MODERATE TONE OF SPEECH, FACT THAT NO VOTE IS SCHEDULED
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TO BE TAKEN ON IT, AND POSTPONEMENT OF POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ELECTION OF SUCCESSOR TO ZACCAGNINI AS NATIONAL COUNCIL PRESIDENT ALL SUGGEST THAT CENTER-RIGHT MAJORITY UNLIKELY TO MOVE AGAINST ZACCAGNINI AT THIS COUNCIL SESSION. NEXT ITEMS ON AGENDA WILL BE CONSIDERATION OF MODIFICATION OF PARTY STATUTES REGULATING ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO PARTY CONGRESS AND SETTING OF CONGRESS DATE. COUNCIL NOW EXPECTED TO LAST ANOTHER DAY OR TWO AND PERHAPS MORE IF ALL MAJOR LEADERS CHOOSE TO SPEAK.

15. COMMENT: FORLANI MAY BE RIGHT IN STATING THAT ZACCAGNINI SPEECH PROVIDES GOOD "BASIS" FOR FORMATION OF A WIDE MAJORITY WITHIN PARTY. HOWEVER, IT IS ONLY A BASIS AND WOULD NEED SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATION, PARTICULARLY REGARDING DEFINITION OF DC-PCI RELATIONS, BEFORE IT COULD BECOME A UNIFYING PROGRAM PLATFORM AT THE CONGRESS. IN ADDITION, MOST OBSERVERS AND DC SOURCES BELIEVE FORLANI HAS LONG FAVORED THE IDEA OF THE DC AS A MODERATE PARTY IN THE CENTER OF THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM - A CONCEPT ROUNDLY CONDEMNED BY ZACCAGNINI. BEAUDRY

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